4.

THE KINGS CAVSE

Rationally, briefly, and plainly debated, as it stands *De facto*.

AGAINST

The Irrationall, groundleſſe miſpriſions of a ſtill deceived ſort of People.

2. SAM. 2.

Shall the Sword devoure for ever? Know yee not that it will be bitterneſſe in the end?

Heu quantum potuit terra pelagique parari,
Hoc quem civiles hauſerunt ſanguine dextræ?

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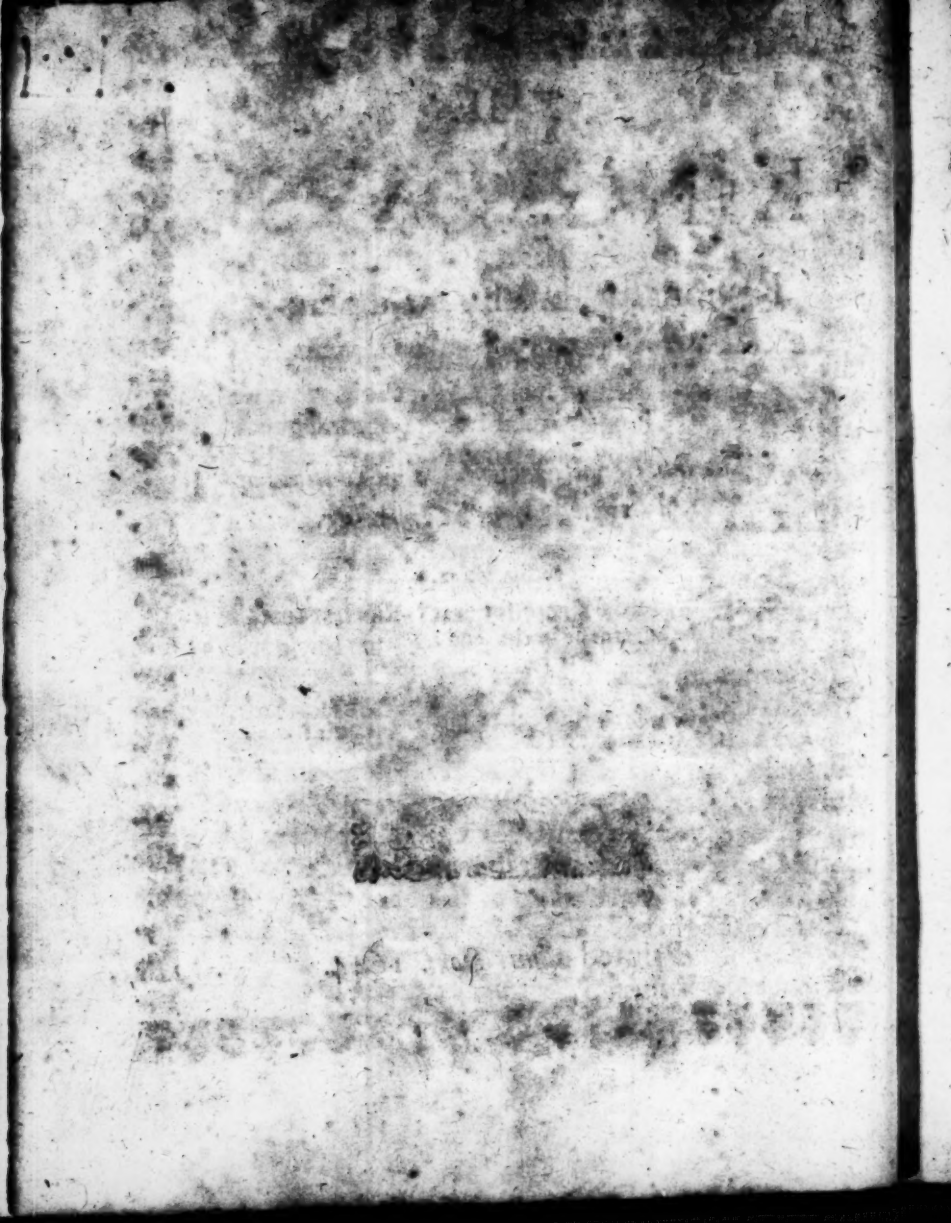

The Kings cauſe rationally, and *plainly debated, as it ſtands de Facto. &c.*

Oncerning the nature or quality of theſe unhappy diſtractions we have long groaned under, & conſequently by what name or title we may beſt decipher them, I need not to ſpeake much: A civill warre it is, who ſees not, yea *plusquam Civile*, more then ſo; an unnaturall, bloodie warre, wherein friend ſtands engaged upon tearmes of defiance againſt his friend, brother againſt brother, even father againſt the ſonne, making good by this meanes in theſe laſt and dreggiſh times of the world that inevitably true prediction of our Saviour, *Luk.* 12. 13. what the event or iſſue of this warre ſo unluckely begun, and as obſtinately ſtill maintained, may be, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, God he knoweth. The beſt we can probably expect (unleſſe the ſame God be pleaſed by a timely prevention to make up the breach, muſt needs be a ſpeedy overwhelming of this once flouriſhing Iſland in the generall deluge of ruine and deſtruction.

But enough of this; The truth herein is too notori-

ouſſy apparent to our extreame ſorrow, and rather requires the helpe of ſome kinde of healing ſalve, then of a farther corroſive; It may be worth our conſideration then in the firſt place to obſerve, againſt whom namely be theſe warlike armes taken up; Againſt the *King* queſtionleſſe, *Patrem patriæ*, our lawfull Soveraigne, the Lords annointed: That Ἐν καὶ μόνον κατὰ Θεὸν, as one expreſſeth it, that *Supream power* placed in ſo neer a diſtance under God himſelfe, that whereas we in modeſty terme Kings or Rulers here upon earth, his vicegerents only, he hath pleaſed to advance them to an higher title, and plainly ſtiles them *Gods*, *I have ſaid yee are Gods*. *Pſ.* 82.6. And hence further is it that we find in Scripture the ſeat of Royall judicature, as uſually termed the *Throne* of God, as the Kings *Throne*; nor themſelves barely the Deputies or Miniſters of Men, but Gods *Miniſters*, his peculiar ſubſtitutes.

All power is from God, I willingly acknowledge, by ſome way of derivation or other: but this for certaine more immediatly and in a neerer degree, as being the *Supreme*, 1. *Pet.* 2. 15. more determinatively too in that he alone is the diſpoſer both of Kings and kingdomes ſaith the Prophet, *Dan.* 2. 21. *Dan.* 4. 17. 25. even to a particular deſignation of the perſon frequently, as we finde it to have been (not to ſpeake ought of exoticke governments) in the Iewiſh commonwealth. The Heathen anciently by the very light of nature found out this truth.

Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρέφεος βασιλῆος,
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστι, ſaith the Poet, and another

yet

yet more closely

Εἰκὼν ἐν Βασιλεὺς ὁ τὴν ἡμψικὸς Θεοῦ. The King (saith he) is the truest and liveliest reflex or image of God upon earth that may be; *Humani Ioves*, as the Latine Comœdian speaking of such persons in a straine beyond them both. And surely for this reason particularly amongst other (in my poore fancie) is that very title above mentioned of being called Gods bestowed upon them, to wit in regard of their dominion and soveraignetie over the rest, which they still retaine as a maine Relique as it were of that Gods image at first stampt, and engraven upon the soule of man. Now as I said, against this Soveraigne power neverthelesse be these armes lifted up: a power so sacred, it seemes, as not to be touched or but roughly medled with; since *Touch not mine annointed* (not the chiefe then be sure) is the interdictive expresse caution of the Almightie; *David* thus did but touch *Saul* by cutting off the skirt of his garment, and we see how his heart smote him streight; in as much as, *who can stretch forth his hand* (saith he) *against the Lords annointed, and be guiltlesse?*

For however to colour and disguise the businesse, the King hath been all along pretended to these harsh unusuall proceedings of late, as if what were done, were not against him but for him, yet is this in truth such a strange peece of state-Sophistry, that men, though of meane capacitie cannot I suppose at last but discerne easily and see through it; *Nugæ & quisquiliæ*, unlesse they can possibly shew *pro & con: with and against*, termes so widely opposite to be one and the same,

ſame, which yet will neither good Logick admit in the former, nor ſcripture phraſe acknowledge in the latter: That ſaying of our Saviour, *Mar.* 10. touching matrimoniall union, *Quos Deus iunxit nemo ſeparet*, is in a good ſenſe if read backwards appliable to the preſent diviſions, *Q. D. S. N. iung.* whom God in his ſecret diſpleaſure, as here, hath a while really divided & ſet at diſtãce, let none go about in purſuance of their cloſe unjuſtifiable deſignes by bare and emptie termes to ioyne together. You ſay you are for the King, entitle him to every act, the King ſaith no, diſclaimes it utterly, often and againe hath proteſted againſt it: whõ may we in reaſon rather beleeve? eſpecially conſidering thoſe groſſe & monſtrous inconſequences which follow hereupon, as that thereby he is made to ſet forth Edicts, levie monies, wage war, and all againſt himſelfe.

It is true (*I* confeſſe) in ſome caſes, as where the Prince is a Minor and under age; or where he is not *compos ſui* through weakneſſe of his intellectualls, this may well hold, and the ſeeming contradiction be eaſily cloſed up: The reaſon is, for that there the party is not Maſter of his own actions, nor can he, in a legall conſideration be reckoned amongſt thoſe *ἄυτόματα* whether in Art, or Nature, which move of themſelves, but as one rather who is moved from without. There both law and equitie juſtly commit ſuch a one to the tuition and guidance of another. But where there rules a iudicious and diſcerning Prince, able to ſteere by the

the conduct of his own reaſon, there to plead your being for him, and yet goe croſſe to his commands, is ſuch a fine peece of artifice, as may ſerve perchance to enſnare the ſimple, but withall occaſion the wiſe to ſmile.

If itbe here replied (as ſome have done) that this *Reſiſtance* of theirs is meerely againſt the King his *Private*, not his *Publique*, his *Perſonall*, not his *Royall* commands (for as ſo, ſay they, he muſt be ſuppoſed alwaies to ſpeak in the voice of his Parliament, or elſe that of the law.) A poore ſhift, when as they are faine to ſhape on this manner their evaſions at the Romiſh forge; for thus deale they, labouring by a like art of Sophiſtrie to ſet up Monarchicall government in the Church, as theſe endeavour to pull it downe in the Commonwealth. To this end have they divided (who knowes not?) the Pope even from himſelfe, by conſidering him as he is a Man, & as he is Pope; As hee is a private man, ſay they, he may erre, but as he is Pope and ſitting in the chaire, he is infallible. Such cob-web thin-ſpun diſtinctions as theſe, I have ever thought fitter for ſpeculative diſputes, then at any hand to bee drawne into outward practiſe. They carry ſomewhat with them, the ſound, but are altogether void of ſubſtance. Otherwiſe by the ſame rule I might ſlay my brother, not apprehending him as one of *Adams* progenie, as my ſelfe am, but under the common notion of ſome ſenſitive kinde of creature, or ſay Ile rob him of his ſubſtance, not conceiving of him as my neighbour, but as of ſome profeſſed enemie. And yet againe when or where will they be able, I mervaile, to finde

the

the King on this wise divested of a Royall influence into all commands of state, not repugnant to the lawes already being? Or moreover not alike stil, whether placed in his Throne or out of it, representative of a publike person? These are nicities that require a ray or two of further illustration from them.

Be it further urged, that notwithstanding this their resistance to his commands, yet they love and honour his person, as in duty they are bound to doe. Not so certainely neither; I am sure our Saviour, *Io.*5.15. teacheth another doctrine, *If yee love me*, saith he, *keep my Commandements*. Mark the consequence: and *Iehu*, 2.*Kings* 9.30. about to destroy wicked *Iezabel who is on my side*, saith he, *whoe* and immediatly wee finde his commands fulfilled, *V.*13. True love towards our governours ever begets an inward obedience or subjection of the soule, & obedience straight breaks forth into outward performances. *Obedientia* according to the Etymologie quasi *Obaudientia*: The word imports a willingnesse of hearkning and ready submitting our selves to the commands of our Superiours. In briefe it is our duty not over hastily to dispute, but obey their Mandates: otherwise of subjects wee become Judges both of them and their actions.

Being thus driven from either of those two former holds, they betake themselves for refuge to a third, and that indeed the weakest. We have not taken up armes plead they, against the King, but against the Malignants and evill Councell which is about him. Here

I cannot but remember the manner of certaine Fencers or Swash-bucklers in *Rome*, anciently called the *Retiarii*, whose fashion it was in fight, when as pressing eagerly upon the adversary, and endeavouring to cast their net (wherewith they were fitted for the purpose) upon him, that so they might entangle him, to crie *Piscem peto, non te peto*, I make at the fish (a fish it seemes there being engraven on the others helmet) and not at thee. So these men, they pretend a war against the *Malignants*, but they pursue the King; yet doth not the King write them friends whom they terme Malignants? Doth he not owne and uphold them in their proceedings? So as their being against them, argues manifestly their being against him. It is a Gospell inference, *Mat.* 25.40. *For in as much as yee have done it to one of these little ones, the least of these my brethren*, saith our Saviour speaking of his poore distressed Saints, *yee have done it unto me*, so likewise, *V.* 45. *Act.* 9.4. Howbeit they still goe on, seize on his ships and Magazines, force his Townes and Castles from him, yea shut the gates against him, unlesse happily, as it befell *Phædria* in the Comedian from his kind Mistris, who *pra amore exclusit foras*, as it is there, They likewise may be thought to have done whatsoever hath been acted in these affronting waies, meerely out of the zeale and tendernesse of their pure affections.

This was the first consideration I made choice of to propose, concerning the *Person*, *namely against whom* this war is undertaken, the King; next I would have it considered that as it is the King, so he is a King interessed

ressed to his crowne by virtue of *Inheritance*, a King, as *I* may say, *natus*, *non factus*, borne so, not made; what the difference in this ease may be, as touching the validitie of interest or right to their dominions, between an *Elective* and *Hereditary* King, (this for certaine being the more *Absolute* and unconditionall of the two; moreover the conditions what ere condescended to *Essentiall* there and *Necessary* constitutive to the very essence of Soveraigntie; here for the most part meere *Voluntary* and *Subsequent* acts of grace, and so lesse censurable (by man) upon the breach and forfeiture, then there they are) *I* will not make it the argument of my present discourse, nor doe *I* produce this Topick as meaning thereby to adde any strength of supportance to his sacred title; That needs not; but only as willing upon all true just grounds, to improve that dutie and loyall respect in the mindes of reasonable men, which they owe to their Soveraigne; *It* was somewhat surely (at leastwise the Poet thought it so) that *Agamemnon* doth so boast of the antiquitie and descent of his Scepter, fetching it downe from *Vulcan* to *Jupiter*, from *Jupiter* to *Mercury*, from *Mercury* to *Pelops*, and so onwards.

Ἥφαιστος μὲν ἔδωκε Διὶ κρονίωνι ἄνακτι
Αὐτὰ ἄρα ζεὺς δῶκε ——

We behold with a kind of Reverence some high and loftie long growne Oake, yet not so much for its height, as for its continuance, and as it were conquest

gained

gained upon time; which since man himselfe by reason of his naturall frailtie cannot attaine to, we reverence it in his off-spring. Thus it fares in private families, and thus should it be much more in the line of Princes, who are *Patres familiarum*, and so commended to us in Scripture under the title of being the *Heads* of their *Tribes*. The point I drive at is this: Princes by inheritance, as they have taken deep root, and are firmely seated in their Throne, through virtue thereof, accordingly may they challenge a firmenesse of duty and alleagiance in the hearts of their people.

In the third place let it be considered, that as he is an *Hereditarie King*; so Hee is a *Good and Gratious* KING; a Prince singularly accomplisht throughout, Malice her selfe, for ought I could ever heare, hath not in this particular whereon she can justly discharge her envenomed rancour; look upon him in his owne line up to the top of his ancient and long renowned pedigree, treading through the whole series of his famous predecessours; Or look upon him in a Collaterall line, and compare him with the neighbouring Princes about, and without offence, I suppose, (take him but in all respects) I may parallell, if not preferre him to the best. *Quæris Alcida parem?*

Nemo est nisi Ipse; what *Xenophon* hath delivered of Princes in the Idea for morall virtues requisitely behoofefull in them, and what *Synesius* with others for Christians, we have here in some sort fulfilled in the

Hiſtory. But I muſt be ſparing in the point for feare of cenſure, Nor needs in truth a gemme ſo reſplendent and eminently apparent of it ſelfe much labour in the ſetting of; It is no more then whatin effect I have obſerved to drop from the pen of one of their own party; *Omni exceptione major*, grants he: A Prince in his own naturalls or proper conſtitution beyond all exception; Only thus much then by way of Aphoriſme.

O Fortunati nimium bona ſi ſua!

Thrice happy we of this nation, if we rightly knew how to value herein and eſteem our own happineſſe; which on the by might well give check to many of our ſeditious pamphleters & others in their *crude indigeſted paſquils*, who notwithſtading the ſcripture its ſo frequent *Caveats* in this kinde againſt *deſpiſing dominions*, *ſpeaking* evill of dignities, nay but ill *thinking* of them, they as it were, carried aloft in the ſtreagth of their unmannerly brain-ſick zeale, make at the higheſt, and as the *Iewes* once dealt by our Saviour Chriſt, forbeare not to *ſpit* in the face of Majeſtie it ſelfe. Vpon ſuch as theſe hath the Apoſtle S. *Iude* pronounced that heavie doome (which I could wiſh they did ſeriouſly conſider of) allotting them as a juſt reward of their ill demeanours: *the blackneſſe of darkneſſe for ever Iud.* 13.

Fourthly, I wiſh it may be conſidered how that He is a *peaceſull* King: Peace doubtleſſe is a great bleſſing to a Kingdome, and ſo is a peaceſull King: *O pray for*

the

the peace of Ierusalem, saith holy *David*, and S. *Paul*, *follow peace*; *Heb.* 12. *ver.* 13. Διώκετε, the word implying thus much, that men should pursue and hasten after it, like as they doe for the prize in some race or game of contention, Αὐτὸν διώκειν, in some such sense oftimes in *Homer*. Now hath not the King been thus zealous for the peace of our *Ierusalem*; Hath not he likewise (though in vaine) thus pursued and hasted after it? Witnesse the manie overtures or rather entreaties for peace made by him; And all this really, unfainedly, not dissemblingly, or under a vizard, as those of *Davids* enemies, who therefore he deservedly complained of, that *whilst they spake of peace, they had war in their hearts*, *Ps.* 120 7. Had others been as forward as he, to imbrace termes of peace, to tread in that *viâ lactâ*, wee had ere this (my conscience gives me) all closed in a peacefull end: yet no mervaile in it, for a peacefull sonne to proceed out of the loynes of a peacefull father; His *Motto* was *Pacificus*; neither doth our Soveraigne (I confidently beleeve it) desire rather to have his browes encircled about with the lawrell of victory, then of peace and concord with his people.

The fifth consideration shall be, whether these armes so taken up, be *Offensive*, or *Defensive*, Defensive (say they) and will not be perswaded to the contrary; There is the maine *Nodus* of the businesse with them, a speciall point indeed, let us a little ex-

amine it; Civilians teach us that a *Defensive* resistance is, when as the Defendant is no way the cause or occasion of the conflict, by some kinde of former provocation, and then afterwards in the very Act, he doth but *propulsare injuriam*, stands meerly upon his guard as 'twere, ayming rather at his own safetie, then the others ruine: In a word neither provokes, nor pursues his enemie. This is the nature of a true defensive resistance, Otherwise suppose I kill a man, to say I did it in mine owne defence, having yet provoked, pursued, and then assaulted him, would prove, I feare me, but a slender kinde of plea, even at the barre of *Common justice*. The case comes neerly home to our purpose, for be it examined on Gods name with an impartiall judgement, and let not *Actions* so apparently done in the face and eye of the world be either grossely denied, or cunningly shifted off. Who first ministred the occasion of this unnaturall war, by *tumults and seditious riots*, in the open streets? Next, who first drew sword, & gave the *onset*, as it were, thus putting fire to the fuell now prepared and laid together? Who lastly hath ever since most hotly *Pursued* and followed the businesse at first so unfortunately begun? The King all this while almost, suing and intreating for peace, if so peace might have been obtained upon faire and honourable termes consistent with Majestie: what town or fort at the beginning did, or at least needed to have feared his entrance? Nay, what Towne or

fort

fort may yet juſtly feare it, if as they have unwarrantably taken up armes, ſo in acknowledgment of their error, they ſhall ſubmit, & peaceably lay the down—*Cevilia bella—Vna acies patitur gerit Altera*. All the *offenſiveneſſe* I can deſcry in the King as touching the whole matter is, that being at length enforced thereto, he would not ſuffer himſelfe and his good ſubjects to be overborne with a tempeſt, and not make head againſt it: If this be it he is cenſured for, it calls to minde that ſtory of him, who having firſt ſmitten his neighbour with his fiſt, afterwards ſueth him, becauſe his head was hard, and hurt his hand: Paſſion, ſay Philoſophers, in any ſubject is not without ſome manner of *Reaction* joyned to it: nor can we defend our ſelves but it is moſt likely we ſhall in ſome ſort or other offend the aſſaylant. But the nature (as I ſaid) of a ſimply *Defenſive reſiſtance*, is to be tried at the teſt of the premiſed circumſtances.

Sixthly and laſtly, it will be worth our conſideration to examine upon what *Grounds* the ſtraines be lifted up. It is an axiome in ſtate policie, and ever hath been, that better to connive at and ſuffer ſome inconveniences in a Church or Commonwealth, then to expoſe either to the manifold dangers of Alteration. And one of their own outlandiſh Doctors in a Tract of his upon the like argument (though pleading for *Reſiſtance*) yet layes it downe for a principle or ſure Maxime without all

peradventure:

peradventure: I must confesse mine owne ignorance, as not having *Lynceus* his eyes about mee; and therefore desire to be informed by others, whereupon this so urgent necessitie of a civill war may be thought to have been grounded; otherwise I shall easily be induced to beleeve, that with him in the history, they doe but pursue their owne *Shadowes*, or shoot at a mark which themselves through the errour of their weake fancies have set up. Is it for matter of *Religion*, as it was maintained in the best and purest times of a Reformation. The King hath promised it, himselfe doth practise it, and I heartily wish the best of his ill-affected subjects were but herein followers of his good Example. Is it for the *Libertie* and freedome of our persons? The King hath likewise passed his word upon it; Is it for a *Property* in our goods and estates to be enjoyed by us according to the established wholsome lawes of the kingdome? I must returne the same answer. For what then? *Davus sum, non Oedipus*: I desire that some good man or other would be pleased to help me out; where there occurres not danger of our *Religion*, nor of our *Liberties*, nor yet of our *Estates* to be invaded or trenched upon (as neither can the Master Architects of these miserable distractions, I suppose, though having artificially perswaded others, fully perswade themselves there is) there to take up hostile armes, you may if you please, stile it a just *Resi-*

stance

ſtance, but what terme it deſerves of right, let the world judge.

Beſides then the groundles *ſuſmiſes, feares* & *jealouſies* of certaine Melancholy overworking heads, as may be well imagined, ſince *Prona eſt timori ſemper in pejus fides*. And thoſe too many of them, it is to be thought, like falſe fires, raiſed of purpoſe, by the induſtry of cunning projectors, only to amuze the ſimpler people: no other ground or reaſon can I finde of theſe publique commotions, unleſſe what remaineth, it may be the *diſtemper'd and perverſe ambition* of ſome particular perſons; I burthen none with this heavie charge; But ſo it is in the generall, that men of diſcontented humours, or otherwiſe ambitiouſly diſpoſed had at all times rather hazard the common peace and ſafetie of the whole, then fayle of their propoſed private deſignes; *Publicis incendiis patria clarescere*, as he ſpeaks hath alwaies been more for encouragement then a ſtop to the proceedings of ſuch kinde of ſpirits; chiefly whē *need & a decayednes* of fortune, help to ſharpen and whet on this froward ambitious humour of theirs; And as there, ſo likewiſe is it where men have caſually *embarqued themſelves further*, into great affaires, then that they are able with ſafety to come off, There they ſtagger and faulter up and downe, as much uncertain what courſe to take, yet ſtill make onwards, and rather then periſh alone, deſperately put all into a generall confuſion:

with *Sampson* taking his last Revenge against the *Philistines*, they pull down the house, though necessarily it fall upon their own heads, causing thus the guiltlesse ruine of a whole Nation oftimes to wait upon the Herse of their deserved overthrow.

Notwithstanding all this the King, say they, for certaine, hath formerly transgressed in the premises by declining from the manifest and knowne *Rules* of the Law. I will not here argue the just *Prerogative* of Kings, what they may happily challenge to themselves, either *præter* or *supra*, besides or above the law. This would be censured streight (such is the malitious wit of jealousie) as a plea made for the establishment of an *Arbitrary Goverment*; yet so Machiavell may teach, or his associates perchance, but not I: Thus much only then I shall say in this matter; What ere priviledges the Prince is possessed of, whether derived unto him by custome, or as grounded upon the law it self, *favore amplianda sunt*, is an authentique saying borrowed from Canonists; They ought of right rather to bee improved, then any way diminished by us; without any curb or boũds at all imposed frõ law to regulate them by, did Kings (we find) anciently and in those heroick purer times of the world (thence rightly termed Πεμβασιλεῖς, αὐτοκρατεῖς with the like) governe the people subjected to them. But and this farther: There can be no state so exactly framed & composed according to the rule of law,

law, but that it will require ſome kinde of a moderating diſpenſative power left in the hands of the ſupreame Magiſtrate: Since the law is generall, nor can it therefore poſſibly extend to a through determination of all particulars: And in ſuch a caſe I had rather (if I needs muſt) be under the power & governance of one, then of many. Eaſier was it for *Athens* to ſuffer the Arbitrarie dominion of one Tyrant, then as they did a while, of Thirty: and for *Rome* upon emergent occaſions the *Dictatorſhip*, or abſolute government of a ſingle Magiſtrate, then that of the *Decemviri*. It is confeſt that where the way is plaine and open, no obſtructions or difficulties to hinder, there for the Magiſtratet o walk κατ' ἰθυν, as the Philoſopher preſcribeth, is the ſafeſt courſe: But this cannot alwaies be, I preſume, in the beſt Commonwealth, though never ſo well ordered by the ſquare and advice of the wiſeſt Lawgiver.

And now for their objection more particularly. Grant the King hath heretofore ſomewhat ſwerved from the knowne *Dictates* of the law (yet not to that height, neither will themſelves ſay, as either of Tyrannie, or groſſe Idolatry, howbeit the onely juſt cauſes of *Reſiſtance* doubtleſſe, were there any juſt) what: finde we not *David* and *Solomon*, the beſt and wiſeſt of Kings to have digreſſed oftimes into ſundry by-paths of ſin, and errour from the law of God, even to the higheſt pitch: Take in

Ahab, *Manasses*, with others of the worser sort (nor yet questioned thereupon by their subjects streight) for their fowle and truly insufferable misdemeanours in point of Regall goverment; yet were they as strictly bound by solemne covenant, both towards God and Man, entred into at their severall inaugurations, to a performance of certaine conditions, as Kings at present be; nor doe we generally finde Gods Priests and Prophets then, the ordinary sole interpreters of his hidden pleasure, upon any termes what ere freeing the people in the least degree from that indissoluble tye of their duty and subjection to their lawfull Soveraigne: unlesse occasionally, by virtue of some particular *Expresse*, or other from the very mouth of the Almightie, as it happened in *Jehues* case rising up against *Ioram*. 2. *Kings* 9. or in that of *Jeroboam* doing the like by his Liege Lord, 1. *Kings* 11. which with the like extraordinary and immediate commands from God (unusuall for these times) our *Enthusiasts* thēselves will not, I hope, in modesty offer to pretend to in their present undertakings.

And say, must Princes then be brought upon the stage, and subjected to the danger of being *Resisted* by the people, upon a supposall of every slip or petty errour committed by them? Princes (they may be pleased to know) as they are Οἰκόνομοι, or *Patres familiarum*, as was said before, so have they a large family to governe and supervise. Adde

hereto

hereto the many intricate and perplext mysteries, those *Arcana imperii*, which they have to deale with in the management of the Sate; so as they see not alwaies what they doe (neither can they) but by other mens eyes, nor heare they, but by the eares of others, but are forced to use the subservient help and assistance of their Ministers. Can they shew me wherein the King hath knowingly and willingly broken in upon the received lawes of the Land, and that without a full perswasion of what he did, to be just and warrantable; *Hic nodus vindice dignus*; for as so, I am confident, hee may safely proclaime it aloud with old 1. *Samuel*. 12. 3. *Whose Oxe have I taken, or whose Asse have I taken, or whom have I done wrong to?* And with St *Paul*, though in another sense, *I am pure from the blood of all men*, *Acts*. 20. 26. Errors till now of late were not wont to be accounted crimes, not in the meanest, much lesse in Princes, who ly so high, at leastwise should doe, above the levell & pitch of common censure.

And yet againe, hath not the King long since been pleased to descend, as twere, from his Throne of Majestie, yeelding to a gracious revocation of whatsoever but suspectedly might seeme heretofore to have been carried in a wrong course? Hee who by virtue of his place is, & hath been alwaies so esteemed of in former times, not only [illegible] or [illegible], the chiefe framer and withall dispenser of

lawes, but also ψυχὴ καὶ ἔμψυχον, the very life and soule of the law. A point therefore which Maiestie useth but seldome to stoop to; Princes accounting of none as competent Judges of them and their Actions, save God alone; since it is a true saying, *Rex est qui Regem, Maxime, non habeat*, He is truely a King who acknowledgeth no commanding power upon earth above himselfe. Against *Thee, Thee onely have I sinned*; we know whose submission it was, and to whom he tendered it; Nevertheless our King He hath done it, His Royall *Declarations* on the one hand, and his reall transactions on the other, extant in so many *Gracious bills* passed for the good of his Subjects, may serve as a sufficient pledge of this truth. Had but *Rehoboam* done the like, notwithstanding his precedent so offensively grosse extravagancies indeed, mentioned 1. *Kings*, 12. the revolted *Tribes*, (as it is imagined by the best) had soone returned to their due obedience; even among *private Persons* a mans word backed with reall performances hath ever been esteemed of as a sure Testimonie of his true and sincere intendments.

For all this, there be some so impudently feare-full that they dare not *Trust* his Maiestie, And it is this *Diffidence*, amongst other things, which hath been a chiefe incentive to these publique disturbances; Although a vaine one, if rightly considered of: when as men shall goe about to undoe a Commonwealth

Commonwealth, onely because they feare and weakly suspect, it may be undone.

Furor est, ne moriare mori.

There being moreover provided, as there is, a most sure and soveraigne remedie against all such danger, an effectuall προγνωσις, for what ere distempers casually arising or happening in the *State*, that of a *Triennial Parliamentarie Convention*; But say, I beseech you, Not trust him? Not your King? So religious and just a King? Not him whom the Lord himselfe hath trusted? Whom God and the law both have entrusted with the charge, of so great a people? Whence Kings they are usually stiled in Scripture, *Pastors*, *Fathers*, termes of themselves importing much trust and affiance to bee had in them: That too after such solemne *Protestations*, such effectuall imprecations made to this purpose, and published by him? Lastly, after the many *Acts of grace*, done by him already, as sure pawnes of his reall intentions for the time to come? Yet after all, not to afford your Soveraigne so much credit, as but what either *Turke*, or *Pagan* upon like termes might rightly challenge at your hands? Wonderously strange! Especially that men so credulously given in matters of highest consequence, should prove so diffident and distrustfull here! So confident Godwards, and so suspicious of his Vicegerent. Strange if not an offence, happily; (besides its arguing further, some ἕξις, or innate fraudulency of selfe-disposition) against the rule of *common Charity*, which

which lesſoneth us to entertain a favourable conceit of all men, 1. *Cor.* 13. Nay a treſpaſſe againſt the knowne *Lawes of nature*, that prompts us to deale with other men, as we would be dealt with our ſelves, to mete out to them the ſame meaſure, we deſire ſhould be meted back to us. The truth is, yeeld them ſo much power into their hands, whereby they may be inabled to command if not as Maſters of the kingdome, yet as the *Maſters Mate*, keeping the ſcales upright in an equall poize, readie to turne at their own pleaſure. In a word, able when they liſt, *to binde their Kings in chaines, and their Nobles with links of iron*, as the Pſal. myſtically deliver it. And then tis probable they will be induced to truſt him, but not till then. I may adde it as a Corollary here: *Never better Prince, upon no better grounds, ſo harſhly and uncivilly intreated by his ſubjects.*

Yet ſome moreover there bee, who ſtick not to complaine, that he is ſtill *miſled*; So runs the phraſe, But for Gods love by whom, or how? Doe they meane ſo, as each man is *drawne away and tempted*, as S. *James* teacheth, of his own luſts and untamed deſires? His knowne moderation and temperance in all reſpects will free him, as much as may bee, from this imputation. By thoſe then in private which are about him? If it be ſo, without more adoe, and that the old pernicious ſtratagem of galing and wounding the Prince through the ſides of his

his neerer *attendants*, be kept up; (although this exception might now at leastwise well be spared, a greater part of the two *Houses* being present to assist him) howbeit were it so, as they pretend, it seemeth in time it may prove a criminall offence to be nigh his sacred person; and that which hitherto hath beene accounted an honour, shall be imputed as the greatest aspersion; and so by degrees every loyall true Subject, at what distance so'ere shall in fine become a *delinquent*. Time was when disloyalty or but disaffection towards the Soveraigne was made to be *crimen criminis extantium*, saith the observant Historian, a punishable fault in such that wanted faults of accusation besides: but now we may expect and justly feare the contrary; It hath already thus befallen the *Ministry* in their kind, most of the conformable worthyer sort of them in all places, being thereupon, and for no other reason commonly, strangely Metamorphized, through a wrong interpretation, into a new shape, and so presented to the world under the title of *Popish or scandalous*. But therefore let us rather know in what? why thus, as farre as my weake apprehension will carry me. The King is not pleased to grant whatsoever is demanded of him though never so unreasonable, *ergo* he is *misled*: Because His Majesty will not yeild to an hocking and taming of his owne *Regall soveraigne* transmitted unto him entire from the hands of his illustrious

predecessours: To a new moulding of the state after the *Venetian platformes* To a new building of the Church suitable to the *Genevian modell*. In breife to the creating of a new *Heaven and a new Earth* here amongst us, that is a new Church and a new Commonwealth, he is misled, he is seduced by wicked Counsell.

This is the summe and *detail* of the businesse, as farre as I can understand, or if there be more in it, I wish it may be made appeare, and the mindes of the moderater sort of people thereby better satisfied; Neither yet would I be so understood in these last passages, as if I desired that matters whether in Church or Common wealth should altogether stand as they have done, unmoved, unquestioned: Not so perchance, (albeit this be a poynt without the retch of my decision,) since what Church or State was ever knowne to have long continued free from the creeping in of sundry pernicious and destructive abuses. Like as some garden or other, we see how it becomes overgrown with weeds straight, if not carefully and often looked to or as the body which quickly superabounds with noxious humors, unlesse now & then it be cleansed by wholsome physick. But there is, I conceive, a wide difference to be found betweene a *reforming* of what is amisse in either, and the absolute *transforming* the whole into a new

shape

shape; betwixt prunging or lopping off the excrescencies of some over luxuriant vine, and a quite digging of it up by the roote. This is destructive, that usefull, the former may well be tolerated, nay is some times very requisite. But it is this latter which sober understanding men do so abominate, whereby not only the *old and sowre leavin* is to be purged forth, as Saint *Pauls* counsell is, but both batch and *leavin*, are in danger to be done away together.

And now a little to recollect in one those short imperfect considerations, which have hitherto beene deliver'd upon this argument, as 'twere gathering together the dispersed handfulls, and making them up into one entire bundle. Here is you see a *Warre* continued, a cruell bloudy Warre; this too against the *King* without question, yet this King an *hereditary*, a *good*, and *peacefull* King; withall the armes taken up and used in this warre, they are not, as it is preteaded *defensive*, but *offensive* plainly; then lastly upon what occasion or *ground* ariseth all this; certainely upon none as yet, that hath not at least wise beene graciously retracted to the full: and as for the future there's none imaginable, unlesse the *base surmises* and *jealousies* of men, as was formerly sayed, working them into a needlesse distrust of the Kings fidelity towards a performance of his promises, may be

held a lawfull and sufficient ground. And tell me, what soule endued but with common reason can approve of such irregular horrid proceedings; which no age, I beleeve, since the times of Christian Rule and Subjection first instituted amongst men (if taken with all circumstances of aggravation) looke over the remaining Annals, peruse the choyeest Records, can fully patterne or exemplifie; what heart can chuse but bleed upon a serious consideration of these groundles intestine broyles; broken forth within the bowells of this once flourishing Common wealth, which (as that *Ignis sacer* with Physitians, rageing in the bones) of all diseases and annoyances to a State, is the most dreadfull.

I have done with the first branch of my intended discourse, concerning the *King*; I come next to speake somewhat of the 2d, the *People*. The King and his people as Subjects, are Relatives, and so may well be comprized within the Lists of the same Argument, now the people may be considered either disjoyntedly and apart, or else as they make up one entire representative body in that *highest Court*: In this latter capacity or consideration I shall not say much of them: I love not walking upon precipices, [illegible] things above us deserve rather to be reverenced by us, then over boldly medled with. But yet this

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I may ſafely ſay, and without offence, I Imagine, that the wiſeſt *Aſſemblies* in this kind that may be, cannot amongſt the reſt of their priviledges what ere challenge to themſelves a priviledge of being altogether free from errors and miſtakes. It hath beene ſo in the graveſt Councells of the Church as hitherto, (*true Councells indeed*, and thoſe truely and legally ſummoned together) one ſolely accepted, and that the firſt, wherein the holy Ghoſt after a more immediate manner did ſit at ſterne, moderateing and directing their preſent conſultations. To pretend either here or there to an abſolute infallibility would favour too much of Popiſh arrogancy: yet a blemiſh which neither the Lay nor Eccleſiaſticke part of this Kingdome will be willing I hope, in any conſiderable number to acknowledge themſelues much guilty of.

Againe we find in Councells how there hath ſwayed oftimes a *prevailing faction or party*: ſo as they deſerved not ſo much to have beene termed *Concilia*, as *Conciliabula*, rather Conventicles then lawfull aſſemblies, and accordingly the reſult of their conſultations hath uſually caſted ſtrong of the prevailing ſide: nay, we have heard of Councells or Synods, that for a great part there ſittings in the firſt choice or conſtitution of them, have not alwayes beene, 'twas thought, ſo *impartially* aſſigned to the place, as not conſiſting of the beſt,

the ableſt, and every way fitteſt for the worke that might be found: witneſſe the many examples of Councells both ancient and *moderne* too, which might be called upon in atteſtation of theſe truths; I apply not the one, nor the other: but this I may perhaps inoffenſively ſay: what hath often happened to a *Councell*, may at ſome time be fall a *Senate*: thoſe of the ſhort robe are not more exempted then thoſe of the long; Howbeit I wave the point, with a μὴ γένοιτο there, wiſhing, though no wayes hoping, all to be well.

Yet one thing more, which I had almoſt forgotten, & it is this; what power ſoever the *repreſentative* body hath at beſt, queſtionleſſe it hath it from the body at large, the people; As the ſunbeames contracted into the narrow concave of ſome burning glaſſe, they are the ſame with the beames in open aire, though ſome what more vigorous and active by reaſon of this contraction; not boundleſſe or uncontrouleable can ſuch a power then be, for that were more then the people have in themſelves under any capacity, as being Subjects ſtill. And *nobili dat quod non habet*, is a maxime in Philoſophy, as true, as common. Should the people pretend to the bequeathing of ſuch an unlimited power, as our Saviour beſpake the two brethren ſuing for precedency of place in Heaven, *ye aſke ye know not what*, the like might I ſay of them, ye pre-

ſume

sume to give ye know not what. So then the pow-
er both inherent and derived from the people, is
bounded, and ought to move regularly, not be-
yond the scope it was intended for. I gave my
vote to the erecting of this power, not meaning it
should recoyle upon my selfe, to the subversion ei-
ther of my estate or liberty, nor yet against the So-
veraigne power whereto it is *subordinate*, as being
absolutely the highest, if Saint *Peter* mistake not.
1 *Peter* 2. 13. And to talke of a *coordination* here of the
three estates (as some have wisely done) making
the King one of them, (who yet indeed is none, but
properly and truly (will the learned in Law soone
tell us) head of those three, *viz.* the *Lords spiritu-
all, temporall*, and *Commons* of this land; according
to the ancient usage and contrivance heretofore of
Parliaments.) But grant it were as they would have
it, to talke I say, of a *coordination* of the 3 estates in
this case, were in effect, besides other absurdities
following thereupon, (if the result be throughly
looked into) to constitute a supreame without infe-
riours, a King for the time not having Subjects, the
people all of them (as it must needes follow) being
implicitly involved under the other two; How
much better would a soft complyable motion de-
berwins the *three*, and forward the dispatch of
Justice most effectually. It should be like that
motion in the *Prophet Ezekiels* vision *rota in rota*,
or as of the spheres above, which move one with-

in

in another. That crosse contrariant motion of the neather spheres to the first *moveable*, we know how it begets a flowneſſe or tardity in them of their proper and naturall proceſſion; and we ſee by woefull experience what a ſtop, if not a *retrograde* declination of civill affaires, the claſhing or banding of one power againſt the other hath wrought of late in this miſerably diſtracted Common-wealth.

But falling downe, as I was about, to a lower pin, let us next conſider the people in a diſgregative ſence or notion: thoſe who hitherto upon all occaſions have ſo firmely every where (whether voluntarily or *invited* to it, I meddle not) adhered as a ſtrong ſupport to the *higher powers*. I meane not here to enter the liſts of a particular compariſon, by poyſing man with man, perſon with perſon on either ſide; but as we may find divers of good note (be it confeſſed) on that part, ſo are there many more, let me ſay it, on this: If *Saul hath ſlaine his thouſands*, *David* can boaſt of his *ten thouſands*: The muſter *rolle* if look't over would better determine this Quære, then I can, well may they confide and reſt themſelves upon the affections of the vulgar ſort who (beſides their naturall proneneſſe towards Innovations ever) as moſt an end they underſtand but little, ſo are they eaſilieſt ſeduced, and engaged in prepoſterous undertakeings: But for thoſe of better ranke, ſuch as be either

either knowing, or otherwise of more considerable qualitie, here they must needs acknowledge themselves to be upon termes of disadvantage. Some hereupon I have heard to terme this warre with reference to the opposite side, as that of old, *Bellum Rusticum*, the Helliots or the Peasants warre. And questionlesse it is some encouragement when as it chanceth thus, we excel not only in the goodnesse of the cause, but likewise in the worthinesse of the abettors. But passing by what ere other sorts of Men in their severall ranks and stations as they might be summoned up, let us in our passage touch at the *Divine*. Can they shew mee any of their chiefe Scribes or Teachers (take him forth of the highest classis with them) that may be thought in point of sound and deep knowledge an equall Match for divers but of the second or third here? Yet is *Resistance* (the center namely whereunto this whole discourse doth bend it selfe) not meerly a point of State-policie, but of *Conscience* also, even in the highest degree: and being so, who so fit to direct the conscience, as is the *Divine*, and of Divines the learnedst, the best able?

Next take but into consideration the zeale, or rather the *fury* of many of their chiefe *Ministers* or *Agents* in these affaires; Religion is pretended, but certainly Malice acts the businesse: or if it be zeale, it is a zeale I feare *set on fire* by a coale from be-

neath. Thoſe who have felt their ſcourge can beſt judge of it, and had rather, I beleeve, fall into the hands (if they needs muſt) of ſome unbeleeving Iſmaelite, then of a too too beleeving Zelot: No ſpleene or bitterneſſe of ſpirit like that of your hot *Profeſſour*; none more cruell, becauſe he perſecutes & wrongs his neighbour, yet thinks he does God good ſervicein doing ſo, *Paul* was not more *Paul* afterwards in the waies of truth & ſinceritie, then he was *Saul* before, a fierce & eager perſecuter of the Church; Such was the bitter rage or fury of the *Circumcelliones* or preciſer ſort of *Donatiſts* heretofore, againſt their diſſenting, yet orthodoxe brethren of the *African* Church, as ſundry of the Fathers make mention, not without their deſerved cenſures thereupon: Although they be not all *Saints* neither I conceive, who appeare on that behalfe. Many there are, doubtleſſe, who doe but *Denis in diem aſſibus vitam æſtimare*, as the ſaying is, fight for pay and no more. And ſome, I underſtand, that are not of the *Proteſtant* Religion (object they back what they pleaſe branding their Adverſaries with the opprobrious Nick-name of *Popiſh Armie*; and yet were it ſo, nevertheleſſe true native ſubjects they muſt needs confeſſe them; enough to juſtifie both the tender and acceptance of their bounden ſervice in a time of exigency) not for it therefore more then others.

Fourthly

Fourthly, obſerve their manner of proceeding in furtherance of the publique cauſe, what by *forging*, *by falſifying*, & then impoſing their falſhoods upon the world; The preſſe with them of late hath been ſo inured to this *Cretian* Dialect, that there is queſtion, when or whether happily it may hereafter recover its ancient guiſe of ſpeaking truth: Newes of *Plots* and dangerous *Conſpiracies* one while (thoſe too moſt an end ſtrained to a very ridiculous height of *Panick* affrightments) which yet as hitherto, God be thanked, neither wee nor they have felt, nor had at firſt, it may be, much cauſe to feare; Newes of ſome *Notable victorie*, or other atchieved every day. yet as it hath proved afterwards got ofttimes (if not by *Treachery*) then in a dreame, without a battle. *Lying wonders*, I have often read of, but not of Lying Victories till now. Newes of *Popery and Popiſh Ceremonies* begun of late to be ſet up, and countenanced in ſeverall places. A fiction, in truth, well befitting the Popiſh *Legend*, and thither I commend it; what may wee thinke of theſe men, with their *Mountebanck-like* devices, who under a maſque of pretended zeale, thus ſhamefully trade in falſhoods (all to cheere up their poore deluded followers, and keepe them ſtill in heart) but that even their *profeſſion* it ſelfe is but a kinde of lye or grand impoſture. Nor can they therefore, if they marke it well, ſo ſafely taxe their adverſaries, as they doe, with thoſe haynous

crimes of *swearing* & *prophaneſſe*, ſince *Lying* & *Swearing* are ſinnes ſurely neere allyed, and yet lying too (it may ſeem) carries a more immediate relation to *Satan* the author of all ſinne, who for this, is expreſſely entitled the *Father of lyes*. *Io.* 8. 44.

Vnto this moreover note in the fifth place their bitter *Raylings and invectives* uſually againſt Church and State, which is another by-path they uſe to tread in, thereby labouring to ſtick an indeleble character of diſgrace upon the preſent Government in either; Ere while the *Biſhops Miter* ſhrewdly troubled them, and now the neerer intereſt and powerfulneſſe with the King of ſome our new *State Pilots*. (Not the faults of either, it may be giving ſo much offence, as the eminency of their places.) Now the *Prelates*, then the *Statiſts*. What can I ſay more or leſſe concerning this unquiet barking humour of theirs, but this, the *Lord rebuke them*? Eſpecially for ſome among them, and thoſe of the *Leviticall Tribe* too, the *Firebrands* and chiefe Incendiaries, to ſpeake truth, in theſe bloody diſturbances. Thoſe [illegible], or certain *Minor* Prophets of the times, as the great *Criticke* was wont to terme ſuch. Indeed the [illegible], *the Chaffe & out-caſt* of the Clergie. Thoſe Pulpit *Barraters*, I meane, whoſe Religion uſually is *Faction*, and *zealous ignorance*. That have turned preaching into flat *Rayling*, and inſteed of diſſeminating

nating the word of *saving Truth* in the eares of their hearers, doe nought but *sowe sedition*, forcing them on by their powerfully delusive perswasions, like sillie *Sheep* as they are (almost without the help of a Metaphor) into daily slaughters, and unlesse God of his mercy shall please to intercede, certaine destruction at once) (I feare) both of soule and body. If then what Philosophie hath taught us, the end may be gnessed at by the *Meanes* conducent thereunto, for that the meanes and end be wontedly *Inter se commensurabilia*, as they say, and do each answer one another. I know not how I may conceive or hope well of the end in this case, where I see the meanes to be so foule and altogether unwarrantable.

Last of all, let it be laid to heart the many *unspeakable Miseries*, which these unhappie differences insteed of a redresse of some former sufferings have brought upon us; Quite contrary, as it were *ex Professo*, to what we had reason to expect: the Remedy as hitherto proving much worse, then the disease was. Losse in the *Libertie of our Persons*. For as now what man can be securely safe in any place? And which is the truest Symptome (as the Oratour some where tells us) of a people or Nation, running further into slavery, wee groane and complaine under the burthen, as sensible of it, and yet *Contend* not against it with an unanimous con-

ſent, as it were benummed in our Reſolutions. Loſſe in the *property of our goods*. For as times are, *Ius omne in ferro eſt*, not the Law but the Sword is made the Maſter of our eſtates. To ſpeak nothing of the new *Ægyptian* burdens or taxes beyond all ſufferance daily encreaſing upon us. Loſſe in the *purity of our Religion*. So many brainleſſe impious poſitions are crept in, which like that *Abomination of Deſolation* ſpoken of by the Prophet *Daniel, Dan.* 9.27. have greatly polluted the houſe of God. Great care of late hath there beene taken for the ſuppreſſion and avoidance of *Poperie*, and 'tis well, if ſo it end not (which yet may be feared) in making roome for the introducement of ſenſeleſſe *Anabaptiſme*, or utter *Libertiniſme*. Loſſe in the beautie of our *Diſcipline*, or *Liturgy*; no decency of order obſerved now. Every mans *private ſpirit*, or rather fancy, will needs be a rule unto it ſelfe. And how far this irregularity may chance to proceed is hard to determine, ſince *Conſcience* not ballanced with a ſound judgement is commonly boundleſſe, and never ceaſeth till it ſhut up its progreſſe in a plaine phrenſie; I remember to this effect a remarkable paſſage in that ſtorie of thoſe mad *Anabaptiſts of Munſter* in *Germanie*. They began at firſt upon pretence of reforming ſomewhat amiſſe in *Luthers* Doctrine, about certaine few Articles there. Thence they goe on to an utter aboliſhing of the then preſent *Liturgie*. That would not ſerve

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the turne, but ere long the written word muſt bee throwne by as too ſtraight, and concludent to the Spirit, and this moreover with a ſcoffe by crying *Bibel, Babel, Babel;* A Scheme much like to that in the old Poet, *Titi, Tute, Tati, Tibi, &c.*

Now againe, as before, let us put the premiſes together; The *Infallibilitie*, as hath been argued of the greateſt aſſemblies, The *Partialitie* ofttimes apparent in ſome, the bounded and circumſcribed *Limitednesse* of all, the fuller concurrence of *able Perſonages* on this ſide; the *prepoſterous indirect waies of proceeding* by the fomenters, and other Agents on that; the *inexpreſſible calamities*, which have and are like to fall upon us in liew of an hoped for Reformation. Joyne hereto as a cloſe of the reſt, that which yet indeed fills up the *Ephath* of theſe miſchiefes full, the bringing in of a *forraigne power*: As if the fire of diſſention our ſelves had kindled, were not ſpeedy enough to conſume a State, unleſſe *Others* from abroad be ſolemnly invited, and drawne in, under pretence of quenching the flames, to pull downe the *Houſe*. And the ſcale methinks ſeemes ſtill and ſtill to weigh downe lower: the Kings cauſe more cleared, and the peoples more liable to juſt miſpriſion.

Thus have I in ſhort drawne forth, as 'twere, a true *Coppy* of the buſineſſe, as it ſtands *de facto* between

the King, and some of his people. Should I now put from shore a litle, and goe on further from the *Thesis* to the *Hypothesis*, from the *History* of the matter to a probleme, as whether supposing the King were *truly misled*, and that he did notably *fayle* the trust reposed in him, whether in such a case hee might be lawfully *resisted*, would be a point as easily argued, and *Polemically* concluded on the Kings part; as it hath been hitherto treated of in a plaine and *positive* discourse; For at a word, take but away that grand *Phænomenon* of theirs, that Regall power is *originally* from the people, and therefore upon occasion may be reassumed by them (which yet both in the *Antecedent* and *Consequent* is utterly false.) This principle too as it is further backed with certaine generall Maxims, as *Quicquid efficit tale est majus tale*, and, *Totum est majus suis partibus*; Againe, *Salus populi suprema Lex*, with the like. Axiomes, as it is evident of large extent or compasse, subject to divers and sundry *Limitations*, and accordingly as so, fitter for young Sophisters to wrangle out their disputes with, then as meet engines to overturne Monarchicall Government; Take away, I say, but these and the like *suppositi* laid downe as an unshaken foundation by them (which yet hath been a taske already sufficiently performed, by the lernd industry of divers worthy undertakers in that kinde) and the whole frame of their weak built discourses quickly fals to ground.

What

What they urge concerning the *fundamentall Lawes* of the Kingdome; what likewiſe touching the *uſage* and cuſtomary manner of *proceeding* by generall aſſemblies in ſuch like caſes heretofore, both at home and abroad, truſting to theſe amongſt the reſt, as forts of ſafe retirement; Breifly for the former (if ſo it be not a meere *Chimera* of Imagination barely) it is to be wondred at that lawes of ſo high concernement in the preſent buſineſſe, ſhould lie hid ſo low under ground, as not to be found out & produced all this while; whereas the contrary, I underſtand, have beene and many be ſtill exhibited, without any ſuch labour or paines of diſquiſition; or grant ſuch lawes might be produced and made appeare, yet ſurely with me the law of *man* ſhall evermore ſubmit to the *law of God*: This is, or ſhould be, I am ſure, the *Touch-ſtone* for all lawes, where the divine law and humane chance to croſſe & thwart each other, my conſcience directs me the ſafer way; and tells me I had beſt keepe cloſe to the former: It is ſo in the *Diſcipline* or outward forme of *Church-government*: I appeale to themſelves for a teſtimony; There they cry up to a tittle *verbum Domini*: ſtill the *Word*, the *Word*. And why not ſo according to ſome proportion, at leaſt, if occaſion require it, in the rectifying of ſecular and *ſtate affaires*, I ſee not the leaſt ſhew of reaſon, that can be yeilded to the contrary; yet now for the word of God they

have so little comfort thence, such small hopes of any expresse warrant for their proceedings (savouring over strongly of *Jesuitish principles*) to be found there, as that they scarcely meddle with it, unlesse as they be casually drawne thereto, in their *replyes* and unsatisfactory answers; Nothing to be heard of there, more then *prayers and patience* in such cases; God as then must be intreated to *incline* the heart of the Soveraigne, not the people incouraged to *inforce* him; little mention made of *Resistance*, except it be against the *Devill*, or so; but still of obedience and Christian-like subjection; For the latter, that of practise and example, it is an Authenticke classicall saying, *Exempla paucorum non sunt trahenda in Leges universorum*: we must if we do well, not suffer our selves to be governed altogether so much by *Presidents* or *Examples*, as by reason. And it is cheifely true of the examples of latter times, where they recede from the fountaine, the purity of ancienter and better ages, and so grow more suspiciously corrupt: If some before us have done amisse, we must not straight make their example the *rule* or *patterne* for us to erre by.

By *resistance* so often forementioned (to goe no further at present) I meane *an active resistance* first undertaken, and then pursued in an hostile *offensive* way: for and such a *resistance* is this, say they what they please, both deluding themselves and others.

And

And yet ſuch a *reſiſtance* none of them of the later hach (as farre as I have ſeene yet) dare in their writings offer to maintaine with open face. Juſt in the method of thoſe of *Rome* (whom they ſo much abhorre) their *practiſe* here no way keepes pace with their *doctrine*: For why? neither *ſcripture* nor *reaſon*, nor yet any *Preſidents* of the primitive or better times, they know could be brought with the leaſt ſemblance to ſpeake for them: They are for the King too (if we may beleeve them) as well as we, and meerly ſtand upon their owne defence; nor this neither againſt the King in his owne perſon, but againſt ſome inviſible *enemies* of the Common-wealth about him, ſo as to enter the liſts of a diſpute by putting the buſineſſe to an ungranted height on the Kings ſide; where yet the *vi verborum*, or maine point in controverſie, as things do ſtand in themſelves, is (though but for credits ſake) denyed on theirs, were (as they ſay) to beat the aire, or for want of other worke to ſeeke out an Adverſary. Let the premiſſes be duely obſerved, being no otherwiſe then according to the true condition of the preſent affaires, and the queſtion if rightly propounded would be this; *whether or no, it may be lawfull to take up Compulſory or offenſive armes, againſt a rightfull gracious Prince, profeſſing to governe in all reſpects by the knowne eſtabliſhed lawes of the land, only upon termes of meere jealouſie, and diſtruſt to his Regall promiſes, thereby im-*

broyling their native country in a bloody and miserably destructive warre. Quod restat probandum.

Besides that such *Scholastick Hypotheticall velitations* as these one way or other, howbeit they tight the King in point of due obedience, yet by reason of the supposall they take in, malitious and *captious* heads may be apt to misconstrue them to somewhat a prejudiciall conceipt of him in matter of his goodnesse and integritie; whereas, God bee thanked, *Non desonsoribus istis*, we need no such strained helps, having so *Religious*, so *Iust*, so *Vnderstanding*, so every way *Compleat* a Prince; Be this ground firmely and strongly still maintained, what needs much arguing the lawfulnesse, or vnlawfulnesse of *Resistance* in some *Diocletian* his time, when as there raigneth a good and godly *Constantius*? Or of clashing and banding together in set disputes, the *Supreme Soveraigne power* residing in the *King*, (a point sufficiently evidenced by the severall, and those publique *Acts of State* extant to this purpose: as also farther confirmed by the very title of *Majestie* appropriated unto him as chiefe: *this* having been in all States evermore the peculiar badge or cognizance of *Soveraignty* wheresoere it lay) with that of *Parliaments*, where the Prince freely and *ex motu proprio* denies them nothing, that either *Reason*, *Law*, or his owne just *Rights* may give way to: A Prince whose *heart*

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is truely in the *hands of God* (not of *Evill Counsellours*) to order and dispose of, if any Kings upon earth be; Of whom briefly it may be said perhaps without our better deservings, as the Apostle speakes, *Heb.* 11. of some especiall Saints and Servents of the Almighty in times past, that this *Island* of ours, or lesser *World* will prove it selfe unworthy.

Meane while the premised *considerations*, as I have committed them to paper for *mine owne satisfaction*, so shall they suffice mee untill a surer and more reall ground be offered of a *disputative* enquirie. And did others, I wish, whom it may concerne, propose the like to themselves, annexing them as a *Label* to that sacred oath of *Allegiance* they have taken; Adde hereunto the late solemne *Protestation* made for defence of his *Royall person & dignitie*, either of which how they can possibly dispense with in their proceedings so diametrally opposed (maugre their sundry senseless *Evasions*) be it between God & their owne consciences: for my part I must professe, I am yet to learn; Let them consider the *Sacrilidge*, the *Murders*, the *Rapines* done (nay commanded, *Justifiable Legall* offences you may now call them, as far as an humane *Ordinance* will carry) in these wild licentious times of Anarchy; Strange beginnings of an intended *Reformation*, one would think; I have read of Religion in the Primitive times planted, yea propagated

in blood, under *Pagans* and *Infidells*; but for *Christians* amongst themselves, professing one and the same faith, to advance the supposed purity of Gods worship by such harsh meanes, I have *not so frequently* heard of, untill these later and frantick daies of ours; It is the fruit of a doctrine well becoming the *Turkish Alcoron*, and *there* accordingly ofttimes inculcated, but no where surely to be found in the *Gospell* of Christ; not taught by his Apostles, nor afterwards abetted by any of the Orthodox Fathers; Περοδχὴ ἡ κήρυγμα, *Prayer* and *Preaching* were the appointed weapons of their warfare; Notwithstanding more outrages, I dare say, more heynous and crying sinnes in all kinds unpunishably cõmitted under this pretext chiefly these *last two yeares*, then have bin acted formerly, (set them altogether) within the circuit of this our English Clime, since the first establishment of the *Protestant Religion* here amongst us; As if with us now indeed were the time when *Satan* that great Master of misrule and of all impietie were let *loose* into the world, according to St *Iohn* that his Apocalypticall prediction, *Rev.* 20.7. Consider they, I say, and that seriously, lest as our Saviour speakes concerning the *Iewes*, *Mat.* 22.34. burdening them with all the *righteous blood* which was shed upon earth, *from the blood of Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias*; So (in as much as between two parties disagreeing, the one must needs be faulty) all the crimes

crimes fore-mentioned may come upon them likewise, and be added to the score of their offences. And yet if one small transgression, in any of the premisses bee, as it is, enough to sinke the guilty; what will an huge heape doe? If *Caines* own sinne alone was *heavier* then he could beare, what may we thinke of the numerous sinnes of a whole *Nation?*

These or the like considerations then, if throughly & impartially weighed, might be of great force in rectifying the *precipitate disloyall* inclinations of a still *misguided* sort of people; Certainly it hath beene want of a serious animadversion on this behalfe, which hath hitherto blindly led them on: A strong though groundlesse conceit with many of the *justice*, nay *necessitie* of the cause, swaying them aside from the course of their bounden duty: As if their *Religion*, their *Lawes*, and *Liberties*, lay all at stake, (true for certaine, it is to be feared the *Contrary* side) which yet as here, God knowes is nothing so: When *Absolon* rose up in Armes against his Lord and Father *David.* 2. *Sam.* 15. no question but the *Heads* of the then devised conspiracie made good use (the text insinuates as much) of some such specious pretences, wherewith to cozen the weake and ignorant people; so, for that causelesse insurrection of *Corah* with his complices against *Moses* and *Aaron* together, *Num.*

16.

36. thereby at once discovering their rancorous disaffection towards the established government both in *Church* and *State*; *Tee take too much upon you*, cry these discontented *Reformers*, ye intrench too close upon our pretended *Privileges*, our *Liberties*, our *Consciences*, Never any Rebellion wanted a cloake or cover of this kind of making. And therefore men should have done well, carefully to have pondered aforehand, by debating over and againe, a businesse of so high consequence (as that whereon depends the hazard of eternall *Damnation*, *Rom.* 13. 2.) before they had rashly ingaged themselves in a blinde and obstinate defence of the same, Or if it hath been duely perpended, as it ought, yet without effect: then naught to bee said but this, *Quos furor O Cives*, God, I feare, as his usuall way of proceeding is in such like cases, hath strangely *besotted* and *infatuated* the understandings of this sinfull Nation, meaning to scourge us still after a most severe manner, with the rodde of our own fury; like as it befell the *Ammonites*, and *Moabites*, in fight against the *Israelites*, who helped thus to *destroy one another*, as we finde it recorded, 2. *Chron.* 20. 23.

Exemplo, pari ruit Anglica turba, suos;
Marte cadent cæsi per mutua vulnera fratres.

I conclude the whole with that sage advice of

the *wiſeſt* of men next to Chriſt himſelfe, *Prov.* 24. 21. worthy of a deliberate poiſing by all, but eſpecially thoſe of the *diſaffected partie*. *Feare God and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change: for their calamitie ſhall riſe ſuddenly, and who knoweth the ruine of them both?* where it is to be obſerved, how you have *God* and the *King* ſet a breſt as 'twere, the *obedience* we owe to the King joyned with that *Duty* which we owe unto God: & ſutably a neglect of our performance in the one, threatned with certaine deſtruction alike, as in the other. And the reaſon for both holds parallell ſtill, becauſe as by the former we offend God in his owne *perſon*, ſo by the later we injure him in the *Perſon* of his *ſubſtitute* or immediate Vicegerent here appointed over us.

FINIS.

Gildas de excidio Britanniæ.

Moris continui gentis erat, ſicut & nunc eſt, ut infirma eſſet ad retundenda hoſtium tela, & fortis ad civilia bella: Infirma, inquam, ad exequenda pacis ac veritatis inſignia, & fortis ad Scelera & mendacia.